1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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372 two stones; the technique of making fire by the friction of two sticks was unknown.[1] The Tukuna described to me, also, how the ancients struck two stones (tɔ'a-čiɻ''ʌ̈) together, catching the sparks in tinder of *taracuá*, a substance found in the nests of *tracuá* ants.

[824] Some, however, still remember well the fire drill used for this purpose, which was made of white *envira* wood. The drill was a rod about sixty centimeters long, or a shorter piece enclosed in a stem of *cana brava*. The hearth was a small board of the same wood, which rested on two small sticks. The drill, rotated between the palms of the hands, pierced the little board, and the glowing powder fell through the hole upon the tinder beneath. This apparatus, say the Tukuna, was invented by the culture hero dyoi'.

[297] Today, a wing of a parrot, forest turkey, buzzard, or royal hawk serves as a fire
[412] fan; the shaft is sometimes wrapped in a piece of cloth and covered with wax. Among the Tukuna I have never seen any fire fans of vegetable material, but the Neobrazilians and the Kokáma use them exclusively.

All the members of the family capable of working in the garden patch always bring kindling wood when they return. If, in spite of this, there is no kindling, special trips are made for it.

[412] Fire tongs are unknown, but once I came across a sort of fork, formed of three
[252] branches stemming from a single point, which served to arrange the coals and to place upon them a piece of meat for roasting. The fork was especially made for this purpose and had already been in use for some time.

The platform supported on four stakes is never found in the kitchen where
352 things are laid on the ground or are hung from wooden N-shaped hooks thrust into the roof thatch. These hooks sometimes end in a bird's head and are called vẹ''kiɻ''ča (see p. 142). Some of the kitchens, however, have a small platform suspended from the roof, on which dried meat, bananas, and other foods are stored.

[415] Jugs, bowls, and plates have their places on an outside platform (giráu), at the side of the shed. The jars (l.g., *igaçabas*), even when empty, are kept in the kitchen. They are turned upside down when not in use, and it is customary to store fruits, and so forth, under them in order to keep the food away from domestic animals and bats.

Although the Tukuna habitually obtain their drinking and cooking water from
312 a clean spot, such as the center of the current, it bothers them little if the filled containers remain for hours exposed to the rays of the burning sun. They drink
[271] little water, and one often finds the containers empty, but no one seems to feel the lack.

Utensils and containers.—All the Tukuna gourds, *cuias*, are made of shell of the
415 gourd (*cuieira*) and are generally covered on the inner surface, or in a few rare instances on the outer surface as well, with a black lacquer of *cumatê* juice (fig.
[386] 2, *a*, *b*). Sometimes the outer surface is decorated with an indelible red paint, *urucú*,
[531] in a design of palm trees and animals. There are large hemispherical gourds, smaller elliptical ones, and little, narrow, long ones.

In the kitchen one always finds a number of wooden ladles and spoons, sometimes of a respectable size containing almost a half liter; these represent a post-Columbian

[1] Tessmann, p. 561.

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304 *Piercing of the septum.*—The Tukuna have largely abandoned the practice of
[301] piercing the septum, which accompanied perforation of the ear lobes. When they pierced it, they wore in the hole a wand of reed or canna brava called vë-ëra'ñ (from vë, introduce; raũ, nose).

Tooth filing.—The Tukuna custom, which today has become quite common
[177] filing to points the upper incisors and, more rarely, the lower as well appear have been acquired by contact with the Neobrazilians. Yet the mother of one of my informants condemned the practice as improper and ugly and said that this operation was designed to prevent caries, which forms easily between the teeth—an explanation which is perhaps a secondary rationalization.

Tattooing.—The question of primitive tattooing among the Tukuna is difficult to settle satisfactorily; some writers probably took for tattooing what was actually
[386] only painting with the juice of the genipa (*Genipa americana*), which is still widely used today.

304 Padre Monteiro Noronha, the first author to devote a small chapter to the
531 tribe, says that they "have the same strokes, [as their neighbors the Caca-tapiiya:
114 a wide black stroke, curled at the tip, which begins next to the nose and ends at the sides of both ears] but narrower and shorter." Martius mentions "eine oder zwei schmale, quer über das Gesicht laufende, tätowierte Linien. Doch findet sich dieses Merkmal keineswegs gleichmässig." Castelnau writes: "D'autres avaient sur les joues deux lignes noires transversales," without indicating whether the lines are painted or tattooed.

One of Marcoy's plates shows a male Tukuna with a double stroke or line in the shape of a loop that begins next to the ear and ends in a small cross on the cheek with an extension to the corner of the mouth. Bates writes: "Both men and women are tattooed, the pattern being sometimes a scroll on each cheek, but generally rows of short, straight lines on the face." His illustration represents the Indians with two short, parallel lines on each cheek, extending slightly to the side of the nose. Orton who as far as the Tukuna are concerned seems to have copied Bates, describes them as "tattooed in numbers of short, straight lines on the face." Lastly, the Tukuna of Barbosa Rodrigues has on each cheek a curved line (the curvature pointing downward) from the nose to the ear, and another almost parallel line that begins at the corner of the mouth. There is no indication whether these are painted or tattooed.

304 Today there is not a single Tukuna with tattoo on the face, the bit that appears
[177] on their arms being an imitation of Neobrazilians.

According to Nino, my best Tukuna informant, tattooing came to the tribe from
304 the ču'mana (Yumána) Indians. These people, however, used an oval network
171 pattern surrounding the mouth, with ramifications of the design extending to the
531 ears. Nino told me that the members of the macaw clans, čara' and vɔɔ', used formerly to tattoo the cheeks in imitation of the markings of macaws. The lines of the design were first drawn in by burnt *cícantã* resin and were then punctured by a needle.

304 Another informant told me that "those who were learned" had the figure of a
531 crayfish, *caranguejo*, and a scorpion tattooed on the forearm or on the back of the hand, and that the dye was the juice of a plant called bu'rë (see p. 42).

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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the brush. In its place they use the tips of wood, small rulers, the back of a knife, or even the finger tips, when they do not smear the coloring plant directly on the object to be decorated. All the pigments are vegetable dyes. The juice of one fleshy fruit (T., na'i^{n}kʊ) furnishes a dark violet which, upon contact with iron, changes into a clear blue. A bright yellow is obtained from the root of the *açafrôa* (*Amaryllis* sp.). The crushed leaves of a jungle plant called bʊ'rë provides green; urucú seeds give a bright red. The fresh colors give a brilliant appearance; they are applied indiscriminately and arbitrarily, without the slightest regard to the natural color of the object reproduced. The best products of Tukuna art are the tururí (bark cloth) costumes of the masqueraders (pls. 16, 17, 18).

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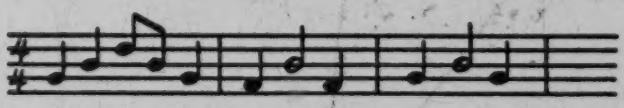
Music

Even less developed than Tukuna sculpture and painting are their songs and musical instruments. The Tukuna sing in an almost imperceptible manner; unless one observed the moving lips one would not know that they were singing, since the sound of their voices is completely muffled by the din of the drums and rattles. At celebrations, certain women were pointed out to me as reputedly good singers, and, in the company of others, they sang expressly for me. Even though they were at a distance of three handbreadths from my ear, I could hardly hear the song. The men sing in equally muted fashion and in falsetto.

533

The music is composed sometimes of only two notes infinitely repeated; at other times the melody is a little more varied:



The Tukúna have a very peculiar instrument, which at first glance appears to be a horn, of paxiuba wood, 6½ m. long and slightly conical in the upper part. Its diameter varies from 12 cm. at the mouth to 5 cm. at the mouthpiece. This instrument is called tɔ'/kį, and to see it is taboo for women and the uninitiated (na'-ʊtį ya tɔ'/kį, "the uaricána is taboo"). The tɔ'/kį is not, however, a wind instrument but a megaphone through which one sings and speaks.

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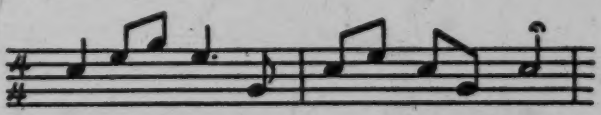
The companion to the tɔ'/kį is the bʊ'/bʊ, a true conical horn from 4 to 6 m. long, made from a long strip of bark of the dʊ:'ru tree, rolled into a spiral and secured by two lateral rods tied along the entire length of the instrument. In the lingua geral, the name uaricána is applied to both the tɔ'/kį and the bʊ'/bʊ. The sound of the bʊ'/bʊ, though loud, is suave and agreeable, and its music, the best the Tukuna have, resembles the very slow playing of a trumpet:



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881 ***Beginning of the ceremony.***—By this time, if not before, the paternal uncle of the present or prospective vərẽkị has assumed his function as director of the ceremony, called vərẽkị-ẽɨl', "drink of the girl." Sometimes he hangs his hammock next to the front wall of the seclusion room, since he is responsible for the girl. He is aided by his wife and the vərẽkị's mother, and by other relatives if necessary, in serving the drinks. The girl's father takes no part in the ceremony that directly concerns her person; the guests are his responsibility.

881 5?4 ***The arrival of the guests.***—In the afternoon the first canoe bringing guests draws up to the feast house. If the guest is someone of importance, the owner of the house, beating his drum and accompanied by some members of the family, who strike the rattle stick on the ground, goes to the door to receive and conduct the visitor. The guest goes up to the house, with long tucum fibers trailing down behind his back. His costume, if he has one, remains concealed in the canoe. Some time later, his wife also goes up, with the burden basket and the children, to hang up the hammocks in the feast house in the place indicated by the hosts. The recent arrivals greet all those who are already in the house with: "Nu'ma!," and all respond with the same word. Everyone is daubed with genipapo on the face, the women more liberally than the men (fig. 10), and the savage appearance that this paint gives to the features often contrasts strangely with the civilized clothing and the perfume flask, the neck of which protrudes from the coat pocket. The sides of the house are filled with hammocks and baggage, but the center remains free for the dance and the ceremonies. The men, almost all of whom carry their carved and painted dance staves (see p. 41) and their own small drums, seat themselves on long benches, which are customarily placed at the edge of the central space. Here the "uncle" of the vərẽkị first gives them a swallow of paiauarú brew in a small gourd and then afterward serves the paiauarú proper in a large gourd.

[302]

Fig. 10. Facial paint (genipapo) for a ceremony.

881 535 533 ***The beginning of the dance.***—Soon some arise, place the dance staves across their shoulders, hang the little drums on the lower tips, and, hitting the drums with a measured beat, begin to march by twos and threes in single file around the margin of the central space. They are preceded by the owner of the house with his drum, or by some other member of the family who occasionally takes over, it being a question of honor for the players not to stop the drumbeat once the ceremony has started. Thus passes the eve of the celebration.

881 386 ***Preparation for dressing the girl.***—After midnight, about two or three o'clock in the morning, the vərẽkị ceremony begins with the preparation of genipapo dye with which to decorate her, and also of white tururí for her costume. A basket containing some forty genipapo fruits is placed in the center of the house, together with a scraper, some leaves of a plant called nu"u" (*Aroidea* ?), two muirapiranga malletş, and two sticks of white tururí, 2.5 m. long and 5 cm. thick. Half a meter below the upper tip of these a circular furrow is cut in the bark.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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The paternal uncle selects three persons from among those present, preferably from the clans of the vərẽkį̣'s moiety, and hands them the genipapo and the two wooden mallets. A man, beating a small drum, and a woman with a rattle stick remain standing to one side, as is customary in all ceremonial acts, while the other guests continue their march around the group to the sound of the drums. The man holding the genipapo lets loose a loud, prolonged cry: "yẹ!" The chorus responds with the same yell, and immediately the three persons selected fall to their task, one scraping genipapo, the other two peeling off the tururí bark by rhythmic beating with the mallets.

From time to time, for the three workers the uncle substitutes three others; to scrape genipapo he calls upon women as well as men. Slowly the tururí bark, turned inside out, begins to descend, and the mass of scraped genipapo mounts higher on the nu"u" leaves. However, before this work is started, the paternal uncle goes to the girl's retreat to close her nostrils by a magic gesture that consists of twisting something; if she smells the odor of genipapo prematurely, she will die. Out in the enclosure is heard the blast of the uaricánas. The vərẽkį̣'s mother goes to the seclusion room to measure the length needed for the tururí fringes of the armbands. As soon as the two pieces of tururí are peeled to this length, the bark is pulled back to its natural position, and the two bark tubes are separated from the wood simultaneously by a circular cut. The scraper is placed in the basket, the leaves containing the genipapo pulp in front of it, the two peeled logs to the side, and the tubes of tururí are doubled and placed on top. It is now 5 A.M.

Shortly thereafter the genipapo scrapings are squeezed. The paternal uncle with his clan companion, both clutching rattle sticks and accompanied by drummers, carry the two pieces of tururí in a solemn procession to the water's edge, where they remove the outer bark, being careful to give a sudden jerk to both pieces at the same time, and lift each into the air while a cry of "yẹ:!" comes from all participants. The pieces are washed carefully until they become whitish, after which the performers carry them back with true solemnity, marching with them round the feast house three or four times before entering. The sections of bark are opened by a lengthwise incision and are hung on the uaricána enclosure to dry in the sun.

The painting of the girl.—Now follows the ritual of painting the girl with the previously prepared genipapo dye. A basin containing the dye and two corncobs is placed in the uaricána enclosure, from which the instruments have already been removed at daybreak. The women open the little door of the seclusion room which opens into the enclosure and lead out the vərẽkį̣, who is completely naked; she covers her eyes with her hands to protect them from the sunlight.

On her knees and ankles she wears narrow bands woven of tucum (formerly of cotton). Once in the enclosure, she is placed erect on the leaves containing the squeezed genipapo pulp, facing toward the side belonging to her moiety. However, on two occasions when I was present the vərẽkį̣ stood on a large, flattened ball of tucum fibers, which her uncle removed at the end of the ceremony. She had made these threads during the period of her seclusion, to prove that she would be a hard-working girl and in gratitude to her uncle for all his care of her.

The enclosure is full of women. One of them arranges the vərẽkį̣'s hair—the locks of the forehead are drawn to the front, the others to the back—tying them

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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At this feast, as at the feast of children's depilation and ear piercing, masks are used (pl. 65, *top*). These are made, used, and cared for by the guests, who portray anything they wish, such as imaginary demons and fantastic animals. They are in no way associated with individual persons, societies, or other groups. The masked persons customarily remain unidentified until they deliver their masks to the host. About 90 percent of those wearing masks are men, 7 percent boys, and the remainder girls and young women. For costume, clothing is cut and sewn from the bast fiber of certain trees (*Ficus* sp.), sometimes in the shape of pants, sleeves, and fringes, and at other times in the form of a tight gown without sleeves, extending half way down the leg. The face, generally a horrendous caricature of a demon (pl. 64, *top, right*), may be attached to or separate from the costume. The mask representing the storm demon is distinguished by an enormous face and a phallus nearly 18 inches (½ m.) long. Nearly all clothes are painted with vegetable dyes. Sometimes the motif of the mask is identified by the song rather than by the appearance of the mask, which is entirely a product of the individual's imagination. The masked people, sometimes numbering 40 to 50, gather in a special place in the woods, and go to the house in groups up to 10, some of them running up and down at a furious pace, and others approaching slowly. They come for a drink, then disappear to make way for another group.

At the appointed time the guests arrive at the house with their families, sometimes numbering more than 300 persons. They are received inside along the walls, the center being left open for the ceremonies. When all have assembled, they go to the kitchen to be painted with urucú and to have their faces decorated with royal sparrow hawk down. After everyone receives a piece of roast meat, all return in a solemn procession to the house and put their meat on a stand on the side of the seclusion room. On the other side are the vessels of beverages. The feast now begins. Henceforth, everyone goes around the central space in the house singing to the accompaniment of small drums and carrying his dancing stick on his shoulder.

Early in the morning, the girl is brought through a door from the seclusion room to the fenced place around the megaphone where, with her face turned to the proper cardinal point, she is adorned with genipa and white turury that have been ceremonially prepared. Before sunset, she is decorated in the seclusion room with streamers of royal sparrow hawk plumage, a long macaw feather diadem, feather bracelets with white turury fringes, strings of feathers made of toucan abdomens and tails, shell bells with bone clappers, and ear pegs, which are prepared by skilled persons and tried out by her relatives. The women fan her with broad leaves. She then stands in her room facing the place where the megaphone and trumpet are sounded and scratching herself with a little stick. The guests in the main room are given meat and fish stew and cooked bananas.

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

The colour of these natives recalled that of old mahogany. A thick rough mane of hair covered their shoulders. The man was decorated on each cheek with tattoo-marks of a deep blue, produced with the juice of the *Pseudo-Añil indigofera*, the design of which somewhat resembled the Chinese letters on a tea-chest. He wore round his neck a necklace made of three or four rows of monkeys' teeth mounted on an osier framework; a brassart of woven cotton, ornamented with a bunch of yellow feathers and surmounted with a crest composed of the long feathers of the ara, was fastened just below the shoulder of each arm; bracelets of a similar material, but without the *pompon* or crest, encircled his legs above the ankles; and a peculiar girdle round his loins completed his attire. In his hand he carried a lance of palm-wood, with a notched point. The woman had neither the hieroglyphic marks on her face nor

CANOE OF THE TICUNA INDIANS ON THE RIVER AYACUARI.

the crested bracelets on her arm. She wore a necklace of red glass beads, acquired in one of her husband's transactions with the Brazilians. A band of woven cotton adorned the lower part of her legs, and a belt of the same material, none too wide, encircled her loins.

This little group, dimly seen in the faint light of the quebrada, and standing out in relief against the rich back-ground of vegetation, through which the blue sky was here and there visible, presented a charming subject for a sketch, of which I proceeded to take advantage. Having stopped the canoe, my companion amused the two Ticunas while I set to work to paint them. Puzzled by my occupation as much as by the intentness with which I regarded them, the couple exchanged some observations in an idiom with which I was unacquainted, and in the utterance of which they appeared to use their throat rather than their tongue. The gutturals of Hebrew, the double consonants of the Quichua tongue, the G, the Jotas and the X of the Castilian, are sounds of the softest melody compared with the vocal gurgling of these Ticunas,